

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-09 IO-03 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00

H-01 INR-09 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-01 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-14 USIA-04 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-07 AECE-00 DRC-01 /078 W

----- 024079

P R 071130Z OCT 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0486

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0106

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0292

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD

SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 4, 1974

1. SUMMARY. THE WEEK'S ACTIVITIES IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WERE HIGHLIGHTED BY THIS ROUND'S FIRST INFORMAL SESSION, AN EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT AND SEVERAL BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES. THE EAST USED THESE VARIOUS POINTS OF CONTACTS TO INDICATE THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF THE ALLIED PHASING PROGRAM,

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TO CALL FOR REDUCTIONS FROM THE OUTSET BY ALL DIRECT

PARTICIPANTS AND, QUITE POINTEDLY, TO INSIST ON NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS "TO SET LIMITS ON THE GROWTH OF WEST GERMAN MILITARY POWER." EASTERN REPS, ECHOING THE LINE OF GROMYKO IN NEW YORK, ALSO ATTACKED THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT AND EMPHASIZED THAT PRIOR CONCLUSION OF CSCE WOULD HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT ON MBFR. THE POLISH REP SUGGESTED SLOWING DOWN THE TEMPO OF THE PLENARY SESSIONS AND AGREEMENT NOW ON THE DATES FOR THE CHRISTMAS RECESS, AND THE BULGARIAN REP THOUGHT THAT RECESS MIGHT BE EXTENDED UNTIL THE END OF CSCE. IN ANOTHER BILATERAL, THE SOVIET MILITARY ADVISOR INDICATED THAT THE EAST WAS NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS DATA ISSUES UNTIL A NEGOTIATING PACKAGE, INCLUDING AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, HAD BEEN CLEARLY DEFINED. PERHAPS TO COUNTER-BALANCE THEIR LACK OF MOVEMENT, EASTERN PRESS SPOKESMEN BEGAN TO STEP UP THEIR BRIEFINGS OF THE WESTERN PRESS REGARDING EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS. THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED, IN THE FACE OF THESE APPARENT EASTERN STALLING TACTICS, TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE FOR CONCRETE EASTERN MOVEMENT, TO CONINUE ORDERLY PRESENTATION OF THE ALLIED PROGRAM, TO STRESS DISPARITIES IN THEIR NEXT PLENARY STATEMENT AND TO ALLUDE TO GROWING PESSIMISM REGARDING MBFR IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

#### AD HOC GROUP ACTIVITIES

2. GROUP MEETINGS DURING THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 30 - OCTOBER 4 DEALT MAINLY WITH REPORTS ON AND ANALYSIS OF BILATERALS, THIS ROUND'S FIRST INFORMAL AND THE OCTOBER 3 EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT. (SEE FOLLOWING ITEMS). AHG ALSO AGREED THAT THE NEXT ALLIED PLENARY STATEMENT, TO BE PRESENTED OCTOBER 10 BY NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES), WOULD FOCUS ON DISPARITIES AND THEIR DESTABILIZING EFFECTS.

#### BILATERALS

3. IN BILATERALS WITH WESTERN REPS, POLISH AND SOVIET  
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DELEGATES VOICED INSISTENCE ON THE NEED FOR NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS IN FUTURE REDUCTIONS. IN AN EXCHANGE WITH THE UK DEPREP, POLISH DELOFF (WIECZOREK) PRESENTED APPARENTLY CAREFULLY PREPARED ARGUMENTS ON THE NEED FOR NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS IN ORDER TO PLACE A LIMIT ON THE GROWTH OF WESTERN GERMAN MILITARY POWER, ARGUMENTATION WHICH WAS EMPLOYED AS WELL IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION BY A SOVIET DELOFF (COL KAPITONOV). KAPITONOV ALSO

TOLD FRG DELOFF THAT THE EAST WAS NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS DATA UNTIL A NEGOTIATING PACKAGE INCLUDING AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, HAD BEEN CLEARLY DEFINED. IN A TALK WITH NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS, REPEATED GROMYKO'S CRITICISM OF THE COMMON CEILING AS THE MAJOR OBSTACLE IN WESTERN PROPOSALS AND PROBED REGARDING THE NETHERLANDS POSITION ON REDUCTIONS IN PHASE I AND ON INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN MBFR. SOVIET REP SMIRNOVSKY, IN AN EARLIER TALK WITH THE UK REP, ECHOED GROMYKO'S LINE WITH MORO AND OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS IN NEW YORK THAT THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE WOULD HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT ON MBFR.

3. FOLLOWING THE EASTERN "HOLDING PATTERN" EVIDENT IN THE SEPTEMBER 24 CZECHOSLOVAK PLENARY STATEMENT, EASTERN REPS THIS WEEK CONVEYED A POSTURE OF NEGATIVISM, DELAY AND INTEREST IN RECREATION RATHER THAN NEGOTIATION. BESIDES THE INCREASING EVIDENCE OF A HIGH LEVEL SOVIET POLICY TO LINK MOVEMENT IN MBFR TO COMPLETION OF CSCE, PLISH REP STRULAK SUGGESTED TO HIS BELGIAN COUNTER-PART THAT DATES BE FIXED FOR A FIVE-WEEK CHRISTMAS RECESS AND INSISTED STRONGLY ON REDUCING PLENARIES TO ONE EVERY TWO WEEKS. IN A TALK WITH AN FRG DELOFF, BULGARIAN REP DICHEV SUGGESTED AN EVEN LONGER RECESS, "UNTIL THE END OF CSCE;" DICHEV PRESUMABLY ALSO WAS SPEAKING OF EXTENDING THE CHRISTMAS BREAK BUT DID NOT SPECIFY A STARTING DATE FOR SUCH A RECESS.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-09 IO-03 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AECE-00 AEC-05

CIAE-00 H-01 INR-09 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-01 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-14 USIA-04

TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 DRC-01 /078 W

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P R 071130Z OCT 74  
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0487  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0107  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LISON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0292

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE

INFORMAL SESSION - OCTOBER 1, 1974

4. IN THIS ROUND'S FIRST INFORMAL MEETING, ON OCTOBER 1, THE ALLIES RETURNED TO THE SUBJECT OF "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET." THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ENGAGED IN EXPLICIT NEGATIVE CRITICISM OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ON PHASING. THE EAST AGAIN HAILED THE MERITS OF ITS OVERALL NEGOTIATING POSITION, CRITICIZED THE WESTERN APPROACH AS AN EFFORT TO OVERTURN THE EXISTING EAST-WEST BALANCE OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE  
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ALLIED MOVES ON PHASING FOR BEING TOO TIGHTLY LINKED WITH AN UNACCEPTABLE OVERALL WESTERN NEGOTIATING PROGRAM. ALLIED REPS REFUTED THIS POSITION, NOTING THAT BOTH SIDES RESERVED THEIR OVERALL POSITIONS. EASTERN REPS WERE REMINDED THAT WHEREAS THEY HAD IN THE THIRD ROUND MADE AT LEAST A FEW TENTATIVE ALBEIT LKMITED MOVES TO RESOLVE THE AGREED "WHOSE FORCES" QUESTION, THE EAST NOW APPEARED TO BE RETROGRESSING TO ITS ORIGINAL POSITION AT THE START OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, KHLESTOV DID AGREE TO CONINUE DISCUSSION OF THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS. THERE WAS NO MENTION OF THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL.

5. AHG DISCUSSION VIEWED THE INFORMAL AS NEGATIVE AND DISCOURAGING, AND DEVOID OF ANY INDICATIONS OF EASTERN FLEXIBILITY. HOWEVER, ALLIED REPS WERE UNWILLING TO DRAW DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT EASTERN INTENTIONS SO EARLY IN THE ROUND, AND THE AD HOC

GROUP AGREED THAT, DESPITE THIS NEGATIVE EVALUATION, THE ALLIES SHOULD AVOID LEAVING THE OTHER SIDE WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT, IF THE EAST HANGS TOUGH, THE WEST EVENTUALLY WILL GIVE IN TO EASTERN DEMANDS.

PLENARY, OCTOBER 3, 1974

6. POLISH REP STRULAK PRESENTED A NON-POLEMICAL BUT NEVERTHELESS DETAILED AND FIRM REJECTION OF THE WESTERN POSITION ON THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE. STRULAK STRESSED THE NEED FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET AND MENTIONED EASTERN DESIRE TO CONTROL FRG FORCE LEVELS THROUGH NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS IN FUTURE REDUCTIONS. STRULAK ATTACKED THE COMMON CEILING AND OVERALL AMOUNT OF REDUCTIONS PROPOSED BY ALLIES FOR THE TWO-PHASES AS CONSTITUTING UNACCEPTABLE ALLIED PRECONDITIONS. HE DISPARAGED THE WESTERN LINKAGE PROPOSALS BUT STOPPED SHORT OF OFFICIALLY REJECTING THE ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS PROPOSAL. STRULAK ALSO SUPPORTED CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF THE "WHOSE FORCES" QUESTION. IN FOLLOW-UP AHG DISCUSSION, U.S. REP DESCRIBED THE POLISH STATEMENT AS BEING THOROUGHLY NEGATIVE AND CONTAINING NO

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INDICATION OF EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TO MIDDLE GROUND ON THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE.

EASTERN MEDIA ACTIVITIES

7. AFTER ALMOST ONE YEAR OF MANEUVERING IN THE BACKGROUND, EASTERN PRESS SPOKESMEN PROVIDED A DETAILED BRIEFING TO JOURNALISTS ON THE OCTOBER 3 POLISH PLENARY STATEMENT AND ANNOUNCED THEY HENCEFORTH INTEND TO MAKE THEMSEVLES REGULARLY AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS, PARTICULARLY WHEN EASTERN SPOKESMEN ADDRESS A PLENARY. THE AD HOC GROUP ASKED THE BELGIAN REP TO REMIND THE POLISH REP, ON BEHALF OF THE ALLIES, OF THE UNDERSTANDING ON THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE TALKS.

8. COMMENT - THE POSITIONS AND ATTITUDES STRUCK BY EASTERN REPS THIS WEEK HAVE BEEN NEGATIVE AND CALCULATED TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT THE EAST WILL TAKE NO INITIATIVES. SUCH AN EASTERN APPROACH WAS EXPECTED BY THE ALLIES, WHO SHARE THE DELEGATION'S VIEW THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS THE EAST TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ON CONCRETE ISSUES. TO THAT END, WE PLAN TO MOVE SOON TO GROUND FORCE RE-CATEGORIZATION AND DATA ISSUES, THEREBY LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR

SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST OF THE AIR MANPOWER  
TOPICS. END COMMENT.RESOR

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